

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2233

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AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0347

EXDIS

DEPT PASS DEFENSE

FROM MBFR VIENNA REP

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: FURTHER COMMENTS ON NEW FRG DATA DISAGGREGATION
PROPOSAL

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: FRG WILLINGNESS TO NATIONALLY DESIGNATE
BULK OF PERSONNEL NOT IN MAJOR UNITS IS AN ADVANCE. HOWEVER,
THE FRG CONCEPT OF WITHHOLDING DATA ON PERSONNEL IN INTERNA-
TIONAL STAFFS WILL SERIOUSLY MORTGAGE NEGOTIABILITY OF A
WESTERN PROPOSAL ON FRG LINES. BEYOND THIS, REVISED FRG
PROPOSAL AS OUTLINED BY RUTH IN SPC MEETING OF JUNE 27 HAS A
FURTHER SERIOUS DRAWBACK, NAMELY, THE PROPOSED STEP-BY-STEP
APPROACH TO EXCHANGING DATA. IT IS ENOUGH FOR THE ALLIES TO
ACCOMMODATE FRG VIEWS BY ACCEPTING THE CONCEPT OF WITHHOLDING
THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF PERSONNEL. IN THE INTERESTS OF
NEGOTIABILITY, THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH SHOULD BE DROPPED.
OUR COMMENTS ON INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSAL ARE BELOW.
END SUMMARY.

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2. THE EAST REJECTS THE IDEA THAT THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS
ARE TAKING PLACE BETWEEN TWO BLOCS AND WILL REACT NEGATIVELY
TO THE FRG CONCEPT OF TABLING A FIGURE FOR PERSONNEL IN
INTERNATIONAL STAFFS. THEREFORE, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO HOLD
DOWN THE NUMBER OF WESTERN MILITARY PERSONNEL UNDER INTERNATIONAL
STAFFS WHO ARE TO BE EXCLUDED FROM DISAGGREGATION ON A NATIONAL

BASIS TO THE LOWEST POSSIBLE SYMBOLIC NUMBER SO THAT WESTERN NEGOTIATORS CAN STATE WITH AUTHORITY THAT THEIR DEDUCTION FROM NATIONAL TOTALS HAS MINIMAL PRACTICAL EFFECT. TOTAL NUMBER INCLUDING AIR FORCE, IF ANY, SHOULD BE KEPT AT ABOUT 5,000 AND IT WOULD BE BETTER IF IT COULDAEIAROUND 3,000.

MOREOVER, IF THE EAST SHOULD IN THE LONG RUN ACCEPT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, WE WOULD WISH TO AVOID PROVIDING A BASIS FOR THE EAST TO DESIGNATE SOME SOVIET HEADQUARTERS UNITS AS INTERNATIONAL STAFF AND TO WITHDRAW THEM FROM ITS COUNT OF SOVIET FORCES.

3. THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH THE FRG IS NOW PROPOSING WOULD REQUIRE EACH SIDE TO PUT DOWN ITS DATA PIECEMEAL, IN A SEQUENCE OVER WHICH THE EAST WOULD HAVE NO CONTROL. FOR EXAMPLE, THE EAST WOULD BE TOLD THAT IT COULD OBTAIN INCOMPLETE NATIONAL DATA ON GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL NOT IN MAJOR UNITS ONLY AS THE FOURTH STEP IN A SEQUENCE. THIS WOULD HAPPEN ONLY AFTER THE EAST HAD PROVIDED INFORMATION IDENTIFYING ITS DIVISIONS AND GIVING THEIR STRENGTHS. THE EAST WOULD OBTAIN DATA ON WESTERN AIR FORCE MANPOWER ONLY AFTER EXCHANGE OF DATA ON GROUND FORCES HAD BEEN COMPLETED TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE WEST.

4. WE SEE NO REASON TO REQUIRE THE FIRST STEP. THE INFORMATION IT WILL GIVE WILL BE OF MINIMAL VALUE TO EITHER SIDE. TO DEMAND DISCLOSURE OF THIS UNNECESSARY DATA WILL MERELY REDUCE THE CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. EVEN IF
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ALLIED NEGOTIATORS ARE NOT REQUIRED TO INSIST ON TABLING DIVISION DATA, THE FACT THAT THE PROPOSAL TO TABLE DATA ON DIVISIONS WAS MADE AT ALL WOULD INCREASE EASTERN RESISTANCE TO THE WHOLE PROPOSAL, GIVEN THE POTENTIAL SENSITIVITY OF DIVISIONAL DATA IN EASTERN EYES.

5. THE APPARENT PURPOSE OF THE SEQUENCE PROPOSED BY THE FRG IS TO PUT OFF AS LONG AS POSSIBLE THE MOMENT WHEN THE EAST WILL HAVE DATA FROM WHICH IT CAN DERIVE (A) NATIONAL GROUND FORCE TOTALS (MINUS THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF CONTINGENTS) AND, (B) OVERALL NATIONAL TOTALS (WHICH CANNOT BE CALCULATED UNTIL AIR MANPOWER FIGURES HAVE BEEN TABLED). THE EAST WILL PERCEIVE THIS IMMEDIATELY.

6. MOREOVER, BECAUSE THE COMPLETION OF EACH STEP IS A MATTER FOR THE WEST TO DECIDE, THE EAST WILL HAVE NO ASSURANCE THAT IT WILL EVER HAVE THE DATA NEEDED TO CALCULATE EVEN APPROXIMATE NATIONAL TOTALS. THE SEQUENCE SUGGESTED BY THE FRG CANNOT REALISTICALLY BE DEFENDED ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT REPRESENTS THE MOST LOGICAL WAY OF PROCEEDING TO LOCATE THE DISCREPANCY. RUTH'S STATEMENT THAT THE FRG'S FIRST STEP IS NEEDED TO TEST THE EAST'S WILLINGNESS TO GO BEYOND MAJOR UNITS WOULD BE FULLY SATISFIED BY THE EAST'S

WILLINGNESS TO TABLE FIGURES ON PERSONNEL IN MAJOR UNITS.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED DEFENSE.

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DEPT PASS DEFENSE

FROM MBFR VIENNA REPRESENTATIVE

7. THUS INCLUDING THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL
WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY DECREASE THE ALREADY SLIM CHANCES THAT THE WHOLE
WESTERN PROPOSAL WOULD BE ACCEPTED BY THE EAST.

8. FOR THESE REASONS, WE THINK THE US SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT
THE SEQUENCE ENVISAGED IN THE IS DRAFT GUIDANCE WHICH WOULD IN
EFFECT ALLOW THE SIMULTANEOUS TABLING OF ALL DATA, INCLUDING, IF
NECESSARY, AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA.

9. RUTH'S REMARKS INDICATE THAT THE MAIN FRG CONCERN IS TO TAKE UP
A POSTURE WHICH WILL BE PUBLICLY DEFENSIBLE IN THE WEST RATHER
THAN TO DEVELOP A PROPOSAL WHICH HAS REASONABLE CHANCES OF ACCEPTANCE
BY THE EAST. THE COMBINATION OF BOTH INCOMPLETE NATIONAL DATA AND THE
STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH WHICH TOGETHER WOULD MAKE THE WESTERN PROPOSAL
NON-NEGOTIABLE, OVERLOOKS THE FACT THAT IT IS THE WESTERN POSITION
WHICH IS DAMAGED BY THE CURRENT DEADLOCK IN THE DATA DISCUSSION.
THE WEST NEEDS EASTERN DATA ON A NATIONAL BASIS TO SUPPORT THE
WESTERN POSITION ON THE COMMON CEILING AND LARGER EASTERN MANPOWER
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REDUCTIONS. IF THE DEADLOCK CONTINUES, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO SPECIFICALLY LOCATE THE SOURCE AND EXTENT OF THE DATA DISCREPANCY.

10. FOR THE REASONS SET FORWARD IN MBFR 330 (PARAS 7-10), WE THINK IT WOULD BE DAMAGING TO HAVE LANGUAGE PROHIBITING ALLIED NEGOTIATORS FROM CONFIRMING THE ACCURACY OF NATIONAL TOTALS ARRIVED AT BY ADDITION. FRG IS NOW PROTECTED FROM NATIONAL TOTALS THROUGH THE EXCLUSION FROM NATIONAL TOTALS OF PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS. THEREFORE, THE WEST CAN PROCEED TO CONFIRM THE ACCURACY OF ANY ADDITION BY THE EAST OF COMPONENT ELEMENTS EXCEPT FOR THIS GROUP. IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR THE WEST TO ASK THE EAST WHETHER TOTALS OF ITS DISAGGREGATED DATA COMBINE TO FORM ACCURATE NATIONAL TOTALS FOR INDIVIDUAL EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. AT THE MOMENT, THE FRG IS NOT APPARENTLY PROPOSING THAT THE GUIDANCE SHOULD INCORPORATE LANGUAGE BARRING SUCH QUESTIONS. HOWEVER IF SUCH AN INTENTION SHOULD MATERIALIZE, WE THINK IT SHOULD BE FIRMLY RESISTED.

1. DELEGATION VIEWS ON THE COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENT AND THE REASONS FOR NOT PUTTING IT FORWARD TO THE EAST WERE SET FORTH IN MBFR 305. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT SUCH A STEP IS NOT ONLY NOT NECESSARY BUT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AT A TIME WHEN THE EAST IS SHOWING SOME FLIXIBILITY ON COLLECTIVE LIMITATIONS IN BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS. MOREOVER, WE WISH TO GO ON RECORD AS STATING THAT RIGID ADHERENCE TO THE FRG POSITION THAT REDUCTION COMMITMENTS OF NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD ONLY BE COLLECTIVE COULD MAKE AN MBFR AGREEMENT IMPOSSIBLE. IT APPEARS TO US ALMOST EXCLUDED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL DEFINITELY COMMIT ITSELF TO REDUCE A SPECIFIED NUMBER OF ITS FORCES WITHOUT HAVING ANY WESTERN COMMITMENT, OR RECEIVING EVEN A ROUGH IDEA FROM THE WEST, AS TO THE GENERAL DIMENSIONS OF FRG REDUCTIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS CLEAR THAT
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THE FRG IS PREPARED TO FIGHT HARD FOR A DISCLAIMER ON THIS POINT AND IT IS PROBABLY THE PRICE IT WILL ULTIMATELY INSIST ON IN RETURN FOR PROVIDING A NATIONAL DESIGNATION OF MOST PERSONNEL NOT IN MAJOR UNITS. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US SHOULD TAKE THE POSITION IN THE SPC THAT IT HAS RESERVATIONS ON THIS TOPIC, BUT MIGHT NONETHELESS GO ALONG WITH THE FRG, ALTHOUGH IT IS RESERVING A DEFINITIVE DECISION ON THIS ISSUE UNTIL AFTER DETAILS OF AN AGREED GUIDANCE HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT.

12. IN SUM, THE GERMANS ARE CHARGING THE ALLIES A HIGH ADDITIONAL PRICE FOR ALLIED ACCEPTANCE OF A COMPLICATED GERMAN SCHEME ON

DATA DISAGGREGATION AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE LOGICAL STEP OF TABLING
NATIONAL TOTALS WHICH IS SUPPORTED BY MOST ALLIES. IT IS IN THE
WESTERN INTEREST TO KEEP THIS EXCESS BALLAST TO A MINIMUM.RESOR

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED DEFENSE.

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